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# THE Commonweal

*Seymour Slessinger*

## KHRUSHCHEV vs MAO TSE-TUNG

*in a battle of the giants*

*Robert E. Doherty*

## WASTE NOT, PROFIT NOT

*featherbedding as a way of life*

*Our Interchangeable Newspapers* • *Weep Not: A Poem* • *"Castro and the Church"* *Judaism and the New Testament* • *Kern's Sacred and Profane Love* • *Lady Gregory*

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# THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

## Our Vital Interests

PRESIDENT KENNEDY has now returned from a highly successful speech-making tour of the West Coast, where he delivered several very important addresses. The audiences which heard these speeches were obviously deeply impressed by them, and the millions of Americans who read them in their newspapers must have shared in this reaction. Even more important, however, is the fact that the President seems himself to have been elated by his Western experience, and to have come back to Washington with an air of restored confidence and purpose.

Mr. Kennedy's policies on Berlin seem to be working out in a manner which justifies some restrained optimism. On the one hand, Mr. Khrushchev appears to have accepted at last the sincerity of United States declarations that we will not be frightened out of our rights in Germany and Berlin by any amount of Soviet bomb-rattling. And on the other hand, President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer seem to have been convinced at last that our determination not to yield on vital principles in Berlin is not the same thing as a determination not to negotiate there at all.

Elucidation of the meaning of United States determination in regard to Berlin formed the burden of what was probably the most impressive of Mr. Kennedy's recent statements, the foreign policy address he delivered in Seattle at the celebration of the University of Washington's centennial.

In his Seattle address, which was termed by a number of headline-writers as "A Plea for Maturity," Mr. Kennedy undertook the task which many of his critics have accused him of neglecting: the education of the American people on the realities of Administration foreign policy. "We must face problems which do not lend themselves to easy, quick, or permanent solutions," said the President. "And we must face the fact that the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient, that we are only six per cent of the world's population, and that we cannot always impose our will on the other ninety-four per cent of mankind. . . ."

Most Americans, Mr. Kennedy continued, accept these burdens and frustrations "with maturity and understanding. . . . But there are others who cannot bear the burden of a long, twilight struggle." These are the Americans who "want some easy and cheap solution—now." Some of these citizens urge what the President called "the pathway to surrender," which would appease our enemies and purchase peace at any price. Others urge what he described as "the pathway to war," which equates negotiations with appeasement and substitutes rigidity for firmness.

BOTH THESE groups, Mr. Kennedy pointed out, fail to realize that diplomacy and defense are not substitutes for one another. "A willingness to resist force," he said, "unaccompanied by a willingness to talk, could provoke belligerence—while a willingness to talk, unaccompanied by a willingness to resist force, could invite disaster." He explained, too, the obvious but apparently widely forgotten truth that negotiations can succeed only when *both* sides think that the agreement represents an improvement over the status quo. "As long as we know precisely what comprises our vital interests and our long-range goals," he noted, "we have nothing to fear from negotiations at the appropriate time, and nothing to gain by refusing them."

These are wise words, sorely needed at a time of crucially unstable international relations, when the American people are being confused and misled by simplists and zealots on both left and right. The response to our foreign policy problems called for by the President is, we think, exactly the right one, and the American public must be brought to accept the burden of self-discipline and effort imposed by such a response. We are, therefore, grateful that



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Mr. Kennedy took up the responsibility of leading his fellow-Americans to accept this burden, and we are impressed by the manner in which he did so.

Any anxieties about the direction of our foreign policies which persist after the President's memorable Seattle speech hinge on his almost parenthetical observation that we must of course "know precisely what comprises our vital interests and long-range goals." On this score we have sometimes feared that the Administration had no clearer idea than the admittedly befuddled man in the street what our vital interests and long-range goals really are. We have feared that this Administration, like the last one, was overly resistant to any idea of change, was obsessed by the status quo, was reacting always to Soviet leads rather than initiating policies of our own choice. (These charges, incidentally, are exactly those brought against the State Dept. by Senator Henry Jackson's subcommittee report on national policy machinery.)

Unfortunately, some indication that these tendencies have not been entirely corrected is seen in current reports from Washington that Chancellor Adenauer is being "reassured" that the Administration has given up all ideas of "rethinking" the German situation, military disengagement, de facto recognition of East Germany, and other such proposals ruled impossible by *Der Alte.*

We do not necessarily urge all or any of these courses, but it seems to us that "our vital interests and long-range goals" require precisely that we do think about all these possibilities, that we should not be so ready to join with Dr. Adenauer in his insistence that nothing be changed. Actually, in view of the German Chancellor's recent statements, a strong case can be made that it should be he who must reassure us, and not the other way round.

These are the questions which are being discussed between Mr. Kennedy and Dr. Adenauer even as these words are written. We hope the President will be able to put into practice the principles he has now so impressively developed for the American people. On the basis of his most recent words and actions, there seems more reason to be hopeful that he will.

## Civil Rights Report

FOR SOME YEARS now most Americans have assumed that police brutality is a thing of the past. One no longer hears much of the rubber hose, the burning lights, and the "third degree." In fact, the very mention of police brutality and the dénial of rights seems like something out of an earlier and lustier American period.

Anyone harboring such illusions is bound to find the recent report of the Civil Rights Commission shocking. Far from being a thing of the past the report stresses that police brutality "presents a serious and continuing problem in many parts of the United States." Of great significance too is the fact that many of those who are the victims of police misconduct are just the ones in the worst position to press for their rights or to gain redress for their injuries. The Negro is the primary victim, especially in the South. Lacking very often both the vote and the right to serve on juries, he is caught between police lawlessness and white indifference.

While the report makes many specific suggestions to counteract the use of lawless violence by police officers, it wisely centers on the roots of the problem: discrimination and the denial of equal rights. In a brilliant separate statement, Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame and a member of the Commission, underscored the point of the report when he stated that, "We are all excited about Communist subversion at home while we perpetuate a much worse subversion of our own Constitution . . . the ideal of equal opportunity for all." These are sharp words—words that none of us can afford to ignore.

## A Problem of Means

WITH THE ARRIVAL in Miami of the Trujillo brothers, the threat of a new Dominican dictatorship has apparently subsided—despite their MacArthur-like promise to return. The way is now open for a more democratic government. The political and economic penalties decreed by the Organization of American States fourteen months ago can be eased or rescinded. And to encourage the stabilization and success of a more democratic Balaguer regime, the United States is undoubtedly prepared to extend substantial economic aid.

The havoc that has been averted is appreciable. It is widely believed that the two brothers of the slain dictator were on the point of taking power. Rafael Trujillo, Jr., who had been supporting Balaguer, abruptly resigned as commander-in-chief and sailed for Europe. If the Trujillos' coup had succeeded, a most tyrannical government would have been in prospect; if it had failed after much bloodshed, there was a strong likelihood of a new Castroite dictatorship.

Washington is therefore greatly pleased with the result. The threat of another Trujillo or Castro dictatorship has been repelled, and at long last there seems to be a real chance for the democratic freedoms in the Dominican Republic. But there is some-



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thing definitely worrisome about the way we brought this about.

When the Trujillo plane took off for Miami there were at least a dozen United States naval vessels standing offshore. Navy jets had made two flights along the coastline. Some eighteen hundred American marines stood ready to land should President Balaguer invite them, or if the Trujillos should try to oust him. It was unilateral intervention.

In addition to what was at stake, there were extenuating circumstances. Time appeared to be of the essence. Cheers for the presence of the "Yankees" went up from sectors of the Dominican populace. If the marines had been sent in, immediate approval would have been sought from the Organization of American States. Yet all these justifications are insufficient to remove the worry about our resort to such methods.

Our marines constitute a symbol of the "dollar diplomacy" which aroused throughout Latin America resentments that persist to this day. Secretary Rusk prepared for this show of force by declaring that the danger of a Dominican coup "menaces our sovereignty." The maneuver had the earmarks of big power actions of an earlier day, however much the Dominicans themselves stand to benefit. It strongly points to the need of active, continuing international bodies empowered to take and/or delegate action as soon as such crises arise.

## The Bishops' Meeting

INVARIABLY, the annual meeting of the American Bishops in Washington arouses great interest among Catholics and non-Catholics alike. The meeting just completed was no exception. Of special interest, naturally, was the position the Bishops would take on the question of federal aid to private education. Or, perhaps more to the point, the way in which the Bishops would choose to express their position.

As expected, the Bishops did reaffirm the position taken last March by the Administrative Board of the N.C.W.C. Appealing once again for "justice and for an understanding recognition of the rights of . . . children to participate in any proposed program of aid," the Bishops restated their opposition to any program which "discriminates against children attending non-public schools." Of possible significance, however, was the fact that the Bishops did not commit themselves to any specific course of action concerning future aid to education bills.

The March statement, it will be recalled, gave many the impression that the Bishops would oppose forcefully any bill which "discriminated" against those attending private schools. As the earlier statement expressed it, "There will be no alternative but to oppose such legislation." While that statement did appear to suggest that the Bishops would remain unyielding, a more recent statement by Cardinal Cushing expressed the view that Catholics ought not to stand in the way of important legislation simply because of their own feelings of discrimination. Taking into account Cardinal Cushing's published views, the Bishops' most recent statement would suggest that a more moderate position may be in the offing when the next legislative test occurs.

Somewhat more surprising than the Bishops' statement on education was the report of Archbishop William E. Cousins on anti-Communist extremist organizations. In his report, Archbishop Cousins criticized their emphasis on internal subversion, their persecution and harassment of individuals, their confusing of legitimate positions with Communist positions and their open use of methods borrowed from the Communist Party.

What makes this report surprising, of course, is the reportedly high percentage of Catholics who are members of anti-Communist extremist groups. John Welch, for instance, has boasted that half the members of the John Birch Society are Catholics, including a goodly number of priests. Hence, a sharply critical indictment of these groups was hardly something predictable. Even less predictable, unfortunately, is the impact that Archbishop Cousins' report will have.

Ordinarily, one would expect that a major attack by an Archbishop on an existing evil would stir up some immediate soul-searching. But in the case of the particular evil of ultra-conservative fanaticism, Catholic support and participation run very deep. Those Catholics involved, it too often appears, are all but impervious to a reasoned, effective approach to Communism. Even more dismayingly, they seem to conduct their crusades in total oblivion of the Church's social teachings, much less the American ideals of free speech and opinion.

We cannot, for our part, help but feel that the general statement issued by the Bishops at the close of their meeting is directly relevant to the problem of Catholic opposition to Communism. For the great point of the Bishops' final statement is that this country is threatened by a serious corrosion of moral values. To our minds, the means chosen by many Catholics to fight Communism contribute directly to this corrosion. They are means which do little more than intensify the cynicism, secularism and materialism that characterize so much of American life. Taken together, the report of Archbishop Cousins and the Bishops' statement are distinct contributions to our troubled times.



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# The Republicans and the South

EVERY TIME there is a national election, there are a certain number of people who insist that the time has come for a political realignment inside the parties. There is a lot to be said for their position.

On the Democratic side, how can men like Senator Hubert Humphrey and Senator James O. Eastland, for example, run under the same party label? What exactly do Adlai Stevenson and Orville Faubus have in common to make them both Democrats?

On the Republican side the problem is somewhat less acute, but it does exist there too. Republicans like Senator Jacob Javits or Governor Nelson Rockefeller often seem to have more in common with President Kennedy than they do with the ultra-conservatives inside their own party. And what can Senator Case of New Jersey and Senator Tower of Texas find to unite them off the floor of the Senate?

What we need, many argue, is a political realignment along the lines of England's Tory or Labor parties. Let people decide whether they are liberal or conservative, they say, and let them vote that way, with no nonsense or ambiguity.

This is a case backed by considerable logic, but I have not yet been persuaded. In my thinking, one great advantage in the present system is precisely that it does prevent division of the nation along clear-cut, sharply ideological lines. Such liberal-conservative polarization, I think, would be a serious mistake.

As things now stand, the range of opinion inside both political parties is a rather accurate reflection of the thinking of the nation itself. In general, the Democratic party is the "more liberal" and the Republican party is the "more conservative," but each has enough variety of opinion among its supporters to provide a reasonably accurate reflection of the views of the entire nation, and this seems to me a good thing.

In each party, liberal and conservative wings are always in competition, jockeying for position; in each party conciliation and compromise are necessarily continuous. This is sometimes hard to take, when the compromise goes in a direction we personally do not like. But it does mean that the internal processes of our parties mirror the actuality of politics, which usually involves settling for what is possible instead of holding out for the impossible-to-attain ideal.

I would not, therefore, urge political realignment along liberal-conservative lines. But one thing we do need, I have always felt, is a stronger Republican party in the South. In point of fact, we have not had two national political parties in this country, for the G.O.P. in the South has normally been a weak and sometime thing. Its leaders are important at Republican nominating conventions, where their votes are fought for by the would-be Presidential nominees, but until very recently, at least, no one seriously expected them to win any elections.

The Eisenhower victory in 1952 showed signs of a possible break in this pattern, and this was something I rejoiced in. For the South to remain in a one-party ghetto one hundred years after the Civil War strikes me as nonsensical and dangerous. And for lasting progress on the race question the development of a two-party system in the South seems to me essential. If the local Democrats would not listen to the counsels of civic virtue or plain good sense on the racial issue, I reasoned, let Negroes and white moderates of the South vote accordingly. Provide some alternative to the entrenched one-party system, I thought, an alternative that would encourage competition for the votes of Negroes and white moderates, and the situation would inevitably improve.

This is what I believed for many years. And it is for this reason that I am particularly distressed at the line Senator Goldwater is following on his frequent trips into the South. For all that this amounts to, as far as I can see, is a frank appeal for Southern segregationists to switch their support to the Republican party.

On his most recent expedition into the South, for example, Senator Goldwater spelled out his recommendation that the 1960 Republican civil rights plank be watered down. In addition, he delighted many of his listeners by coming out flatly against federal enforcement of the Supreme Court decision which banned segregation in public schools. Further, Senator Goldwater pledged his own support to the Constitutional Amendment on education offered by Democratic Senator Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia, an amendment which would explicitly forbid the federal government from taking any action at all in the matter of segregated schools.

I am not trying to judge Senator Goldwater's motives in this matter. He is an ardent believer in States' Rights; perhaps he feels that it is not his fault if States' Rights has become the rallying cry for white supremacists all over the South. But the fact remains that his tactics would simply pit the Republican party in the South against Democrats like Governor Faubus or Senator Eastland in a shameful competition for the votes of white supremacists.

I don't see how such a contest in primitivism could do anything but harm to the Republican party, the South and the nation. Domination of the Democratic party in many parts of the South by racists is bad enough; two parties dedicated to white supremacy would be at least twice as bad. JAMES O'GARA



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*Seymour Slessinger*

# Khrushchev vs Mao Tse-tung

**Over the past five years, evidence of the divergence between the two Communist giants has mounted steadily**

THE PROCEEDINGS of the Twenty-second Congress of the Soviet Communist Party have bolstered Western hopes that Communism will sooner or later be split into hostile factions. Nikita Khrushchev's open attack against the Albanian Communist leader, Enver Hoxha, was important in this respect; but by far the most significant development was contained in the Soviet dictator's implicit challenge to his only serious rival for leadership of the Communist world, Mao Tse-tung. When Khrushchev denounced all "false ideologies" among Communists and set the only acceptable standard of Communist conduct ("Events have fully confirmed the correctness of the [Soviet] Party's theoretical conclusions and political course"), it was plain to all that his words were intended for the benefit of the Chinese Communist leader principally.

Over the past five years, the evidence of a divergence between the two giants of the Communist world has mounted steadily, rising on the note of Mao's stubborn refusal to grant Khrushchev the same deference accorded Stalin. The Chinese leader has insisted upon consultation and agreement with Moscow before decisions affecting Communists generally were made. He has interposed himself between the Russians and some of their Eastern European satellites, first on behalf of the Poles and more recently on behalf of the Albanians. And he has also asserted his own ideological authority by holding out the Chinese communes as a short-cut in the development of Communism, and, by implication, as superior to any contribution made by the Russians.

But what apparently has irritated Khrushchev most has been Mao's refusal to follow his lead in disclaiming that war between Communism and capitalism is inevitable and to co-ordinate Chinese foreign policy with the Soviet strategy of peaceful coexistence. At the same time that the Russian dictator has sought to allay Western suspicions and win the confidence of the uncommitted nations—twin features of the Moscow plan to achieve world Communism without war—Mao has been espousing militant revolutionism continuously.

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The Chinese leader has been arguing, for example, that contradictions in capitalism necessarily give rise to economic and social instability and therefore to policies of armaments expansion, war preparation, and aggression. He has also accused the United States specifically of a "wild ambition to dominate the whole world and to enslave its people," and has charged anti-Communist neutralist leaders with complicity in this respect. As far as Mao has been concerned, all negotiations with the West on disarmament and coexistence have been dangerous and Communist aid to underdeveloped countries wasteful.

The Soviet leader has recognized that the Chinese adamant insistence on the point that capitalism needs to be destroyed by a frontal attack and correlated optimism that this goal can be achieved in the near future are two characteristic features of left-wing, fundamentalist Marxism. Recalling similar stands taken by Communists in the past—by Nikolai Bukharin in the early years of the Russian revolution and then by Leon Trotsky during his unsuccessful struggle for power against Stalin—he has been fearful of the dangers that it poses for Communism generally and for Soviet Russia especially.

FROM KHRUSHCHEV'S standpoint, the balance of power between the Western and Communist blocs during the past five years has made it too dangerous to contemplate initiating a general war, or to permit the militant policy of the impatient Chinese to provoke the Western powers into launching an all-out counter-revolutionary attack. He has known that the progress of the Communist world revolution, despite its significant gains so far, has been running behind advances in the field of military technology. Both the Western and Soviet nuclear tests have underscored this fact dramatically. And his knowledge of the Western ability to deliver a devastating blow has led him to the conclusion that Communism today is no more secure against physical destruction than it was back in 1918.

It is clear that Khrushchev has been trying to impress his obstreperous co-ideologists in Peiping with the need to tone down their militant revolutionism and to accept



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his calculated strategy of peaceful coexistence as the only practical method under the circumstances of realizing Communism's ultimate revolutionary purpose. In addition to veiled public suggestions, which undoubtedly have been reiterated with greater forcefulness in closed meetings with the Chinese, more serious pressures have been applied.

For example, the level of Soviet economic assistance to China has been reduced drastically in the past year, most Russian technicians loaned to the Chinese have been recalled, a Russian language Chinese magazine in the Soviet Union has been suppressed, and Moscow has refused to support Peiping in its border dispute with India. Accordingly, Khrushchev's decision at the Party Congress to bring his differences with Mao almost completely out into the open, in violation of an agreement made a year ago to keep all Communist disputes concealed from outside view, has represented his most extreme effort to date to convince the Chinese that only the Russian interpretation of world conditions and the strategic conclusions drawn therefrom can be tolerated.

The question now is whether this latest manifestation of the divergence between Moscow and Peiping heralds the climax of their rivalry, or simply marks another phase of its continuing development. It is still too early to discern a definitive answer to this question, but there is ground for reasonable speculation that the awaited irreparable split in the Communist world remains somewhere in the indefinite future.

CONSIDERING the evidence available, it is more likely than not that Khrushchev will convince Mao Tse-tung, at least for the moment, that discretion is the better part of revolutionary valor. The Russian dictator, in the light of his meteoric rise to power over such formidable obstacles as Beria, Molotov, and Kaganovich, is now clearly the most experienced, if not the most skillful, in-fighter in the Communist world. And his skill is evident in the timing of his decision to call for a showdown.

Khrushchev recognizes that China represents no minor satellite that can be dealt with summarily, as was Hungary, and he undoubtedly recalls what happened in 1948 when Stalin tried to break Tito's independent spirit. But the Soviet leader also knows that he enjoys advantages that more than compensate for the risk involved.

For one thing, Khrushchev is reassured by the fact that Soviet Russia now enjoys an industrial and military superiority over China that is unprecedented in the twelve years of their relationship. Back in 1949 the Russians depended on the Chinese almost to the same degree that the Chinese depended on them, for the reason that the victory of the Communist revolution in China represented a major psychological victory for Communism generally and also served as partial compensation for Russia's weak economic and military posture relative to the West. Since then, however, the growth of Soviet power has been phenomenal, while China's progress has been spasmodic and limited. It is clearly more than a coincidence that the Soviet leader has chosen to open his campaign against the "false ideologies" in the Communist camp at a time when the Chinese are beset by their most serious internal economic problems, the result of poor planning, such natural disasters as flood and drought, and, of course, the reduction of Soviet assistance.

That Khrushchev intends to use his economic superiority as a weapon in his "cold war" with Mao is patently clear. The already reduced level of economic and technical assistance now stands reinforced by his warning at the Party Congress that ideological errors on the part of any Communist regime "would deprive it of the possibility of using the opportunities afforded by the world Socialist system." In other words, the prospect of a complete embargo on economic aid from Russia and the major Eastern European satellites is what confronts the Chinese now.

The truculent Russian dictator did not flaunt his military prowess so obviously from the speaker's rostrum at the party conclave; but, then, he really didn't have to. His scientists were saving him the trouble by their actions at the Soviet nuclear test site in Novaya Zemlya, which, as we know, spoke louder than any words now available.

Considering that the nuclear test series coincided with the developments at the Party Congress, it is easy enough to surmise that it was intended to impress the Chinese as much as anyone. The reported heavy fallout deposited over northern China by the thirty megaton blast may have been accidental, but there is no denying that the "accident" was consistent with the Soviet purpose. Indeed, it may have been Khrushchev's way of telling his Chinese comrades that they might have to lose the three hundred million lives they have expressed a willingness to sacrifice, though for a quite unexpected reason.

IN ADDITION to his economic and military superiority, Khrushchev enjoys an ideological advantage as well, and a double advantage at that.

On the one hand, the Soviet dictator can if he chooses, make a stronger claim to orthodoxy than Mao. He can, for example, argue effectively that his own revisionism is consistent not only with Marxism, but with Leninism and Stalinism also. In this connection, he can make the point that Marx himself had temporarily abandoned his prescription of a frontal attack against capitalism in favor of a plan to undermine the capitalist enemy by encouraging national rebellions in the British and Russian colonies of Ireland and Poland.

Furthermore, Khrushchev can open the Soviet record



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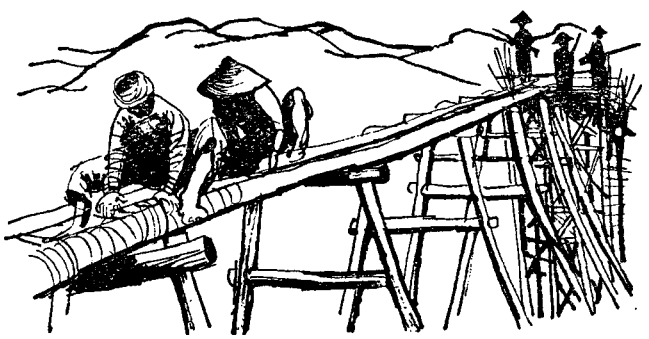
book to passages containing Lenin's and Stalin's stated views that Marxism must be considered as a general guide to action rather than a body of immutable laws requiring bookish and abstract acceptance. And if this is insufficient, he can offer concrete evidence that both Lenin and Stalin employed the strategy of peaceful coexistence at such times when they thought that the danger to Communism from Western capitalism was great. And for good measure Khrushchev might add that it was Lenin who adopted and broadened Marx's plan to undermine capitalism by encouraging nationalism in the colonies and underdeveloped countries, and that it was Stalin who carried on this policy after the second world war by backing Chiang Kai-shek.

It is needless to dwell at length here on the fact that Khrushchev can also make a strong case against Chinese revisionism, considering that Mao has emphasized the peasantry, as opposed to the proletariat, during the revolution and in the construction of Communism. It is enough to say that in an all-out struggle the Chinese would probably be hard pressed to find allies among Communists on the basis of their claim to ideological authority.

The second part of the Russian leader's ideological advantage is to be found in the fact that Mao's stubborn dogmatism on the question of world strategy actually limits his own maneuverability. In order for the Chinese leader to present his argument effectively, he must possess a retaliatory weapon, one that will damage the Russian interest without hurting his own at the same time. He can, of course, accomplish the former by simply splitting the Communist world into two camps. However, meeting the second requirement would be difficult at best, if not impossible.

A split in the Communist world at this time would be more harmful to the Chinese than to the Russian interest. The immediate effect would be to cut off China from its major source of economic aid in Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe. Even if Albania, Viet Nam and North Korea should follow the Chinese lead, their accompaniment would add only slight weight to Peiping's political stature and a major burden economically. Since none of these three satellites possess the wherewithal to support themselves, let alone aid China, the Chinese economic problem would become compounded.



But even more serious is the dilemma that would surely confront the Chinese in their attempt to get along without Russian assistance. They would have to choose between progress at a snail's pace or else seek aid from non-Communist sources. Slow economic progress would leave China far behind Russia and its satellites and could lead to popular Chinese resentment against the Communist regime. It is unlikely that Mao relishes this alternative. On the other hand, an attempt to expand trade relations with non-Communist countries would surely require moderation on Mao's part. At least temporarily, he would have to give up his belligerency toward the West and the neutralists, settle his border disputes with Burma and India, and possibly even tolerate the Nationalist government on Formosa. In other words, for the sake of outside help, Mao would have to adopt a policy of peaceful coexistence, the very policy he opposes at the moment.

ALL IN ALL, then, it would be overly-optimistic at this point to conclude that the recent acrimonious exchange between Nikita Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung heralds the climax of their five-year-old dispute. It is more reasonable, in my opinion, to surmise that Mao will not mistakenly overestimate his strength and chances for success against Khrushchev. He is probably conscious that he depends far too much on the economic, political, and military support of the Soviet Union to cut himself adrift entirely. Inasmuch as Khrushchev has made it clear that he doesn't want an open break, but only a moderation of Peiping's militancy, it is more than likely that the Chinese leader will take advantage of the opportunity to restore Communist unity behind Moscow's leadership, at least temporarily. On his part, to help the Chinese save face, the Soviet dictator may well extend his pardon to an apologetic Enver Hoxha in Albania.

Though Khrushchev and Mao may paper over their current divergence with a joint communique reaffirming their unbreakable solidarity and everlasting friendship, which is the customary procedure in such cases, it is likely that the deep-seated resentments and suspicions engendered so far will remain alive beneath the surface. And these will be fed further by a carry-over of antagonistic national attachments, which Communists have been unable to eliminate in the transition to socialism, by conflicting territorial claims along the Sino-Soviet frontier (notably in Mongolia and Eastern Siberia), by Moscow's fear of "fallout" from a Chinese population explosion, and by competition for allies among the lesser Communist regimes and parties throughout the world. Consequently, we can look for new evidence of the divergence in the future.

AS ENCOURAGING as the outlook for Sino-Soviet relations may appear to the West, however, this should



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not be taken to mean that it is now possible to relax and wait patiently for nature to take its course. To believe that a major, irreparable split within the Communist world is inevitable can no more be justified on the basis of available evidence than can the Communist belief in the inevitability of socialism's triumph over capitalism. Therefore it is important not to ignore the fact that the Russians and the Chinese share the same basic ideological outlook and assume that they face a hostile capitalist world. Also to be borne in mind is that their current controversy revolves almost entirely around the issue of strategy and timing.

This present dispute between Moscow and Peiping probably will not gain in intensity for the reasons stated above, or, to put it more generally, because it is in the interest of both parties, each for his own reasons, to utilize their co-operation. Quite possibly, the divergence may even lose much of its present intensity, especially if the Chinese come to recognize the same dangers that the Russians perceive, or if Soviet science realizes the type of a breakthrough in military technology that will permit Moscow to put its own imprint on the militant side of the coin of Communist strategy once more. In other words, Western strategists cannot count on a future split in the Communist world as a definite factor, since it may not materialize until after Moscow and Peiping have decided to undertake an all-out military effort to accomplish their global aims.

*ROBERT E. DOHERTY*

# Waste Not, Profit Not

## Is it featherbedding to loaf at a useless task?

ONE MUST look long and hard nowadays to find anyone writing optimistically about the fortunes of organized labor. Even within labor's ranks there is much soul-searching and breast-beating. Membership has declined from an all-time high of twenty-eight per cent of the civilian labor force in 1953 to barely over twenty-six per cent in 1960; organization drives in the South and white-collar trades have met with dismal results; recent legislation has been restrictive; labor's public image is the darkest it has been for decades.

The decline in union membership can be attributed to the lessening demands for wage workers in those industries that have most readily lent themselves to unionization: mining, steel, automobiles. The failure to win Southern and white-collar support is probably due more to the psychology of the white-collar worker and the economic and social climate of the South than it is to any ineptness or lack of zeal on the part of labor officials. But labor's public image (and such anti-labor legislation as the Landrum-Griffin Act is a manifestation of this) is quite another thing.

Having recently rid itself of a reputation as a source of radicalism, subversion and social revolution, labor is now accused of being an agent of corruption and reaction. By some labor is denounced as a self-seeking power bloc; others decry the loss of labor's élan and its apparent repudiation of the grand mission. Still others, who have indicated in the past a general sympathy for the labor movement, have lately become indifferent or openly hostile.

Few labor practices have been more vehemently criticized in recent years than labor's insistence when negotiating contracts upon the inclusion of "obscurantist" work rules, which many critics feel is merely an euphemism for featherbedding. Congress has three times legislated its disapproval into law: the Hobbes-Copeland Act, the Lea Act and Section Eight (b) (6) of the Taft-Hartley Act. State legislatures have similarly attempted to cope with the practice.

Featherbedding has been practiced in certain trades for a long time: members of the International Typographical Union receive handsome wages for setting "bogus" type; musicians are paid union scale while not blowing a note; superfluous stage hands stumble over one another as they move a chair from one side of the set to another; painters refuse to use spray guns and paint brushes beyond a given width. More recently, attention has been directed at the struggle in several states to repeal full-crew laws, laws railroad management feels place an intolerable burden on railroads by forcing them to carry thousands of "non-essential" brakemen and firemen on their payrolls. The 1959 steel strike dragged on for one hundred and sixteen days because of the steel industry's endeavor to reassert what it felt to be its prerogative in establishing work rules, not because of union demands for increases in wages or fringe benefits.

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THE STEEL strike is a good case in point. Although management's objections to "unrealistic" work rules are couched in terms of inefficiency, waste, inability to meet foreign competition and ultimately lower profits, it was the attempt to halt labor's encroachment on management's sacred right to manage that kept those industries dependent upon steel from pressuring the steel industry to make an early settlement. A victory for steel, they felt, would have enhanced the bargaining position of all management groups during the next round of bargaining. "Basically," David Lawrence wrote at the time, "the issue is whether or not the owners or operators of a business have the right to manage it or whether a labor-union monopoly shall dictate what have come to be known as 'working rules.'"

As far as labor's rank-and-file are concerned, however, Mr. Lawrence has little to worry about. Neither workers nor unions have much inclination to manage, and although there have been rumblings of late about a job as "property right," it is a "right" few workers or union leaders seem willing to exercise. The fact is that work rules and/or featherbedding have their origin in causes far less momentous or ominous than the beginnings of American syndicalism.

Actual featherbedding is the exception rather than the rule, as far as most American industry is concerned; the majority of wage workers work hard for their money. But where featherbedding does exist, it is for the most part in those older industries that have recently undergone rapid technological change, industries that are reducing their work force while increasing production. The reason is obvious.

Workers want to cling to their jobs, jobs which mean not only money, but seniority and possibly a modicum of prestige; the drive for efficiency and profit calls for their elimination. If workers can hang on to their jobs by forcing industry to forestall changes, or make a mockery of the changes by insisting upon going through the motions of the old job, their jobs are secure at least until the next contract is negotiated. Their methods are understandable—not excusable, perhaps, but understandable.

IN AN earlier age, a man might view technological replacement philosophically, pack his family and few possessions into his car and set out to find a niche for himself elsewhere. There is good reason for him not to take such a philosophical view today.

Installment debt, for example, rose from $61 per capita in 1940 to $261 in 1957. Total mortgage debt for private dwellings went up during the same period from 17.4 billion to 107.6 billion. Workers threatened with technological replacement bear an appropriate share of the debt. At the same time they have something less than an appropriate share of total savings. A man with a mortgaged future seeks stability and security above all; he doesn't look forward to selling his house on a depressed market or carting his unpaid-for refrigerator half-way across the country.

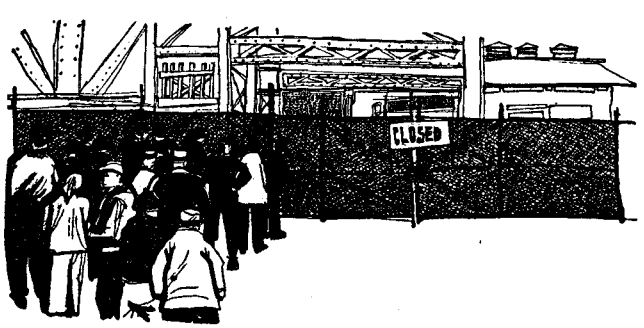
If work rules, or even "make-work" rules have their origins in a demand for security, they are also an expression of something else that is equally basic. To observe that in recent years men are troubled by a sense of political impotence has perhaps become commonplace, but it is nonetheless true. Choices have become limited, genuine alternatives for our political and economic arrangement almost non-existent. We feel more and more the victims of impersonal forces, the sources of which we cannot understand, let alone control.

A man on the job is also, of course, subject to a setting and influences that he did not or would not choose. The place of work, management, the product—none of these can be manipulated by personal decision. But where he does have some freedom to maneuver, the pace of work, choice of tools, rest time etc. he does exercise choice. Through customary work rules that have been "legislated" by his union, he makes an impact upon his work milieu far out of proportion to the influence which he feels he has upon the community. For a worker there is a certain dignity in telling the boss, "This I will do, and that I will not." By many men this is seen as the last remaining opportunity to have a real influence on their surroundings.

THERE is nothing wrong with the ancient idea of a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. But behind the idea lies the assumption that the day's work is spent on the production of a product or the rendering of a service that is worthwhile. It is one thing to loaf on a job, say, of filling sandbags to be used on an emergency dike; it is quite another thing to take it easy while producing automatic electric can openers.

While it is true that the worker has contracted to perform up to a point just short of his physiological and psychological limits, sensitive men have never measured their work by the expenditures of so many B.T.U.'s or X amount of psychic deterioration. This confuses function with accomplishment. Instead, the only meaningful way to measure work is to associate it with either a product or a service.

If both product and service are recognized by the



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vorker as being socially useful, if he is receiving what ıe considers a "fair day's pay," then any interference vith "normal" production is neither excusable nor unlerstandable. But the significant thing about much of oday's work is that no amount of company persuasion :an convince workers that the job they they are doing ıeeds to be done. Few are motivated to work hard be:ause of management's desire for big salaries or stock-ıolders' wish for six per cent dividends.

Given a situation where work is estranged from ɔroduct, where men go to work in a particular factory *olely* because of necessity, or because of working conlitions, wages and fringe benefits, management's adnonition to do a "fair day's work" has no meaning in ıny traditional sense. It does no violence to a man's :onscience if his actions interfere with the efficiency ɔf the industrial process or reduce the company's profits, vhen efficiency means more useless commodities and ɔrofit is based on the ignorance and irrationality of :onsumers. It could be argued, in fact, that it is more ıonorable to loaf while doing a worthless task than it is o work hard at it.

THIS IS not to say that because a man's conscience s not violated by some aspects of featherbedding, eatherbedding is not demoralizing. It is, just as all neaningless activity is demoralizing to anyone with ın ounce of moral sensibility. A man who can take no ɔride in his work, who cannot boast that what he does ıeeds to be done and that he does it well, is one of the ragic men of our times. In this sense, we live in a ragic age, for what is true of the union featherbedder s true of some of the most respected occupations of ur time.

In a very real sense featherbedding could be dis-ussed as primarily a symptom of a featherbed society. Much of the explanation for its origins, as well as its ationale by workers and union officials, can be found ɔ the affluence, bureaucracy, and aimlessness that have ome to characterize our times. In this connection it is ɪportant to note that workers no longer live in their wn closed world, impervious to the values and assumpions of their bourgeois brothers.

Marx's claim that men's social attitudes are dictated y the job has little relevance today, when all social lasses and all occupational groups are persuaded, ajoled, alarmed and threatened by the same mass ıedia. The malaise of the middle class is the malaise of he working class. Alienation and aimlessness, overrganization and bureaucracy—these are factors that annot be overlooked if one is to understand the work-r who insists that he get good pay and security for oing something that even he recognizes as hardly orthwhile.

Labor leaders appear to view this problem with haracteristic myopic vision. As a result their manner of dealing with the question serves only to delay a rational solution.

One favored method is to slow down the trend toward greater industrial efficiency, either by resisting the introduction of labor-saving equipment or, failing that, by forcing management to retain the same size workforce as before the device was introduced. This, of course, is the immediate cause of featherbedding. Given the institutional nature of labor unions today, one could expect little more.

When this rear-guard skirmish has been lost, the second method used by labor leaders is to demand such items as severance pay, retraining and relocation at company or government expense. Thus the problem is shifted from one industry to another, or from one segment of the economy to the other. In neither case will security and meaningful work, the two essentials every worker has the right to demand, be treated with the imagination the present situation requires.

By and large, pure simple unionism has served the American worker well in the past. There is, however, increasing evidence that this philosophy of trade unionism will not serve for the future. It has assumed that matters of wages, hours, health and safety were labor's major and often enough its only concern. But if labor hopes to remain a viable and progressive force during the decades to come, it will have to concern itself with much broader social goals. It must, indeed, come to grips with problems that deal with the very quality of human life. And eventually it will have to recognize that it is not only in a sweatshop that a man can become demoralized by his work.

## *Weep Not*

No tears were ever worth the shedding;
If you were strong, you would not weep.
If you were wise, you would be wedding
This grief to sleep.

Go tell the mourner, bury sorrow,
That darling infant, yet alive.
Since it will die on some tomorrow,
Why let it thrive?

Better be drying tears for others,
Forgetting you have cause for grief.
Fatherless children, childless mothers,
Bring them relief.

But as for you, seek no compassion,
(Who died of grief and rose anew.)
Sorrow is like a passing fashion:
Its days are few.

SISTER M. ALBERTINA, C.D.P.



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*NAT HENTOFF*

# Our Interchangeable Newspapers

## Pity the little old lady in Dubuque

AT *Editor and Publisher*, where critics of the press are categorized as panderers for the opposition or chronically subversive, a thumping summer editorial noted: "For the first time in history, sales of newspapers in the U.S. are more than sixty million every day. That's a gain of more than a million copies over a year ago. If the newspapers of this country were not satisfying the needs of the public there would be no increase in sales."

In September, a columnist for that sanguine weekly quoted with a shudder the heresy of Ralph Coughlan, who used to work for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: "There are few newspapers left in the U.S. where a man can work without a corrosive sense of cynicism toward the papers' aims and policies . . . . newspaper publishers . . .[are] ever more cash-register conscious and this, in turn, causes them to limit the professional freedom of editors and writers."

Those sixty million copies may be satisfying the public "need" for constant alarums and gossip (although the steady rise in circulation of the N.Y. *Times* in an otherwise static New York morning field raises the question of whether most citizens elsewhere have much choice in what kinds of paper they can buy). There is, in any case, reasonable doubt as to whether the national increase in circulation is in itself sufficient answer to the persistent dissatisfaction with the press among such observers from the inside as Mr. Coughlan and the staff of the excellent new quarterly, *Columbia Journalism Review*. (Published by the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.)

IN ITS first issue, among other dissonances you won't find in the harmonious *Editor and Publisher*, the *Review* observes: "Nearly every sounding of public opinion that we have seen recently reports widespread public impatience—a desire for the concrete, the positive, the spectacular in the nation's affairs. Surprisingly, many of the Americans quoted in news magazines and newspapers do not seem to care particularly whether this development is peace or war, so long as it is definite . . . Is it possible that journalists and organs of journalism are themselves becoming impatient?" (We note, for example, that speculation on 'showdowns' has been much thicker in the press than among the governments concerned.)

Adlai Stevenson would agree. He has again been quoted in the *Times* as objecting to the "scorecard-style" coverage of "cold war" diplomacy. Even more to the point of no return is the warning by Carl Lindstrom, former executive editor of the *Hartford Times* and now professor of journalism at the University of Michigan: "Unless journalism bends its back to combat international ignorance, we must face the inevitability of World War III . . . . There never has been a time when the people of the United States had such a reckless attitude toward war—reckless in the sense of indifference and an abandoned insensibility to its consequences."

ONE BASIC CAUSE of that recklessness is the obfuscating performance of the press—with the usual exceptions—in covering hard international news. Most dailies rely almost exclusively on the terse, oversimplified and frequently misleading wire service reports. As A. J. Liebling writes in his new collection, *The Press* (Ballantine paperback), seventeen hundred out of approximately seventeen hundred and fifty American dailies don't have a reporter abroad. Less than one hundred subscribe to one or more of the foreign services syndicated by the New York *Times*, the New York *Herald Tribune*, and the Chicago *Daily News*. "That leaves sixteen hundred papers entirely dependent upon the Associated Press, United Press International, one, both, or the other."

As is clear to those who don't get most of their foreign news from the wire services, Arnold Beichman was hardly exaggerating in an article in *Encounter* where he described the average American journalist, including those abroad, as being "normally half-educated, limp before the magnitude of events and purveying facts he barely understands, let alone the truth about the facts."

For one example, there was the coverage of that Smith girl's report on the public sanitation facilities in Nigeria. In the N.Y. *Post*, James Wechsler wrote: "The first Associated Press dispatch from Ibadan described a rally of about 'one thousand university students angered by an American girl's complaint of primitive living conditions in this country . . .' Yet private reports to the State Dept. from American observers at

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the rally assert that only one hundred and fifty students—rather than one thousand—were present. This may seem a small question of arithmetic. It may also involve, however, the larger question of whether a lonely A.P. stringer in that area should be the man who shapes the climate of United States opinion on the Peace Corps. He may be a fine fellow, but it cannot be said that his dispatches, so widely reported under big headlines throughout the nation, represent reporting in depth."

IN SEPTEMBER, there was the confused uproar following the confused reporting of General Clay's cocktail party asides to the Berlin press corps. Editorialists and diplomats became inflammably concerned about a possible change in American policy. The press had once again found itself, as Charles Collingwood observed on "WCBS-TV Views The Press," a major factor in determination of foreign policy." (Or as Wendell Phillips once observed in a rather less apocalyptic time, "We live under a government of men and morning newspapers.")

"The special correspondents," Collingwood continued, "some of whom were at the party, have been filling in the shades of Clay's meaning ever since—a process complicated by the fact that, as Gaston Coblentz of the *Herald Tribune* pointed out, no one present took notes." While the N.Y. *Times* emphasized the high ratio of speculation in Clay's suggested solutions to the German problem, the N.Y. *Mirror*'s headline was more akin to the way most American papers treated the "story"—*Report U.S. Tells Bonn to Deal with East Reich.*

There are also slow days with not even an off-the-record cocktail party scheduled. A Nigerian, visiting America as a participant in the Foreign Students Leadership Project of the U.S. National Students Association, told of a time not too long ago when a group of American journalists visited his city and "failing to find the right type of situations . . . asked some village dwellers—on the offer of a considerable amount of money—to strip themselves naked or wrap some leaves around their waists" for the photographers who had also come along.

ALTHOUGH sixteen hundred papers—actually more—depend largely on national and international reporting that is as deficient in consistency as it is in depth, there is in theory a counterbalance of diversified opinions through the syndicated columnists. Most publishers, however, protect their readers in this area too from points of view that might differ too provocatively from what they read on the front page and hear on television "newscasts." (William Lawrence, once of the N.Y. *Times* and now an ABC-TV reporter, has explained the art of TV news to Tom Morgan in *Look*: "You just try to get one fact over about a story. Two is too much. Then, when you boil it down to fifty seconds, the grays tend to disappear, and things become black and white.")

But there are a few tints of gray in some of the columnists. Yet, according to a survey by the Luce Clipping Bureau Service, many papers do not run the columnists they buy every day: "Twenty-five per cent of the papers ran the columnist one day during this week; sixteen per cent two days; sixteen per cent three days; sixteen per cent four days; eighteen per cent five days; nine per cent six days." Since most papers are conservative, it is a logical supposition that some of the columns that are not seen are those in disagreement with one of many possible allergies afflicting the local publisher. Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of censoring the columns that do run.

In New York, for instance, Drew Pearson's column seldom appears in its entirety in the *Daily Mirror*, and often those sections sliced out include his more forceful reports on erring members of The Establishment in business and government. Some editors, including a few in single ownership towns (only sixty-one American cities, going on sixty, have multiple ownership of the daily press) do welcome diversity of opinion in their pages. The tendency, however, is toward the stand of Robert M. Hitt, Jr. of the *Charleston Evening Post*: "Syndicated columns, as I see them, are extensions of the editorial columns. If one of our paid columnists strays from the straight and narrow, we just throw his copy away. If he strays too often, we drop him."

A few weeks ago, a dangerous radical columnist was dropped permanently from a Massachusetts daily in a city with a quarter of a million population. The man who made the decision owns the only two papers in a town that usually votes strongly Democratic. The daring, cashiered columnist had appealed to many of the paper's readers, particularly women.

"Look," the owner explained his move to a visitor, "I don't meet most of the people in this city, but I do have lunch every day at the club with a dozen of our leading businessmen. They've been after me for a long time to drop that column, and frankly, since they're the ones I have to deal with directly, it was more comfortable for me to let her go."

The columnist was Eleanor Roosevelt.

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*AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS*

# Castro and the Church in Cuba

Springfield, Ohio

TO THE EDITORS: For a situation so unhappily "classic" as "Castro and the Church" [Oct. 13], it's a shame that The Commonweal saw fit to print Edward B. Glick's sorely inadequate summary. The article illustrates an unfortunate but apparently easily gotten into habit of many journalists who merely summarize press clippings of events they know very little about first hand or from a particularly interesting vantage point, and call it respectable journalism.

Unless I've presumed wrongly from Mr. Glick's piece, he would have us suppose that Castro is wholly at fault in the present drama ("End of a Hope"!), and finally that he is out to destroy the Church by his very words. As Mr. Glick tells us, "he (Castro) supposedly told Guevara that 'religion is a powerful force that we can't destroy overnight; that will take time and patience.'" No source, attribution, or anything but perhaps the author's close reading of press despatches, which in themselves, says Herbert Matthews of the N.Y. *Times,* are not above question. The key words in this paragraph are not "we" and "destroy," but "supposedly."

The many questions Mr. Glick poses are evidence of an inquiring mind at work, or a writer stuck for a lead, but one I found downright absurd (unless I count "Who will win?" which might better have been phrased as "Who will lose?"). After telling us about two of Castro's diplomats in Mexico City who defected and gave as their reasons the campaign against the Church, Mr. Glick asks: "Will that campaign also alienate Castro's foreign friends?" He then goes on to say that in Mexico, where the official level is perhaps most tolerant of "Fidelismo," there are beginnings of revulsion at Cuba's church policy. I waited to hear some highly placed Castro backer quoted, but what does Mr. Glick offer but a quote from Mexico's highest ranking prelate, publicly condemning the whole Castro gang, of course. Perhaps writing for a Catholic audience can be carried too far. But in answer to his question, I would venture that not many of Castro's foreign friends will take umbrage at his action to curb the Church's political activities, a minor form of dictatorship when compared to, say, the state of democracy in Spain, or even Angola. The Church has many friends (though I'd hate to name some of them), but let's not kid ourselves that she is universally loved by all good men.

Fundamentally, my argument with Mr. Glick and The Commonweal is directed against milking religious sentiment, and finally a sort of religious chauvinism, out of a situation that is essentially political. When Castro says, "The Church has lived with all regimes, why not with socialism?" I think he states his case quite clearly and deserves an answer. And not a frenzied cry about Communists being within the gates. Mr. Glick's inversion of the question and his cryptic references to past *coups d'état* of the Church are no reply. To speak of the Church in terms of the latter is only saddening.

As a final note I merely wish to mention that The Commonweal has gained a reputation for its concern with the truth however unpleasant—and not by omission, I might add—and that as a steady reader and admirer—I should have expected it to be above this sort of article.

PAUL D. VELDE

Toronto, Ontario

TO THE EDITORS: May I state how refreshing it was to read Mr. Edward B. Glick's "Castro and the Church" [Oct. 13] because of its rare measure and absence of invective and hatred. The burden of his article is that Castro's attacks on the Church can be explained by his desire to suppress the Church's denunciation of his antecedent Communism. It seems to me, quite on the contrary, that just as Castro has increasingly turned away from neutralism towards Communism in the face of ever increasing American opposition, he has similarly reacted with increasing harshness to increasing Catholic counterrevolutionary efforts. It goes without saying that my opinon may be mistaken. But Mr. Glick's case, in any event, is simpler than the reality of events, and it is defective both in matters of interpretation and in matters of fact. I confine myself to essentials in the following remarks.

The Church's earlier relations to Castro were not "almost the exact opposite of what they are today." The laity's support was unanimous (which is enough to gainsay Mr. Glick's assertion), but the clergy's and the hierarchy's ranged widely in proportion to the credit given to the original accusations of Communism made by Batista. One Cuban bishop, for instance, an avowed *Batistiano* of whom even other Cuban bishops are ashamed today, quietly fled to the U.S. upon Castro's accession. Mr. Glick may not have heard of him, as the matter, somehow, was never reported. Mr. Glick rightly says that His Holiness did receive Foreign Minister Roa. But His Holiness also received Nuñez Jiménez, the head of the Agrarian Reform Institute at a time when U.S. opposition to the land reform law was exceedingly



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bitter (e.g., sugar quota cuts were being threatened); at a time, also, when Nuñez Jimenéz' *Geography of Cuba,* a copy of which he presented to the Holy Father, was being falsely denounced by *Time* as "Marxist." None of this was reported at the time by the U.S. press, secular or Catholic.

It is true that Monsignor Díaz spoke up in favor of land reform and other measures. It is also true and, I submit, relevant, that other bishops spoke with suspicion and even gauchely. It is true that *La Quincena* was muzzled by Castro in December 1960, but there was nothing "ironic" about it even if originally, under Father Biaín, it had refused to confuse suspicion and fact. For, several months before it was muzzled by Castro, *La Quincena* had already been muzzled by Monsignor Boza, and its editor sent to a remote country parish for suggesting that the choice that Cubans were being pressed to make between the U.S. and Russia was a false alternative. And though I would hesitate to predict the outcome of a contest in intolerance between Castro and Bishop Boza, one should note the fact that even after it was taken over by Bishop Boza *La Quincena* remained an unhindered, outspoken, Catholic opposition organ long after any other in Cuba: it was the *last* Spanish-language paper to be taken over.

Some members of the hierarchy began to have serious doubts long before "the latter part of 1959." (It is simply not true that these doubts were "accentuated" by the executions: the only issue, from beginning to end, was Communism.) The counterrevolution had a specifically Catholic origin, motivated by a specifically Catholic, religious, anti-Communist reason: Manuel Artime's M.R.R. began to conspire and to infiltrate the Ministry of Agriculture as early as March, 1959. Their evidence of Communism consisted of Castro's early espousal of neutralism, which they equated with pro-Communism. This, I hasten to explain, is not my surmise: Artime's "political testament," written just before he left for Cuba at the head of the April 17 invasion forces, explicitly states so.

"Cuba's steady drift toward the Sino-Soviet bloc" did not begin until well after the U.S. had tried its best to block the revolution and to subvert it in co-operation with *Batistiano* exiles. When Mikoyan arrived in Havana on February 5, 1960, to conclude the first commercial treaty with Cuba, Cuba had already undergone more than sixty bombing and incendiary raids flown from Florida by *Batistianos* and by American mercenaries with the passive co-operation of the American government. And when Kudriatsev arrived in Havana early in May, 1960, as the first Russian Ambassador to Cuba, the U.S. Congress was considering over sixty different bills to cut off Cuba's sugar quota (in violation of international law, as Herter pointed out) and, as we now know, the C.I.A. had already begun to train and arm Cuban exiles in order to "Guatemalize" Cuba. The sequence of these events, I believe, is significant.

It is true that on May 17, 1960, Monsignor Pérez wrote his now famous phrase: "It cannot be said that the enemy is now at the doors, because actually it is within." Its reference to Kudriatsev's arrival in Cuba is plain. Monsignor Pérez' letter, though long in its condemnation of Communism in the abstract, offers not one other single word of evidence of Communism in Cuba: his whole case rests on Cuba's commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia and, presumably, the correlative alienation of the U.S. In the face of American opposition to the revolution, however, could Cuba have effected significant social reforms without asserting her economic independence? If this was possible no one has yet suggested how.

It is not true that even at a later date, in the collective pastoral of August 7, 1960 "the shepherds of the Church were even willing to accept diplomatic and commercial relations with Communist countries;" (I am brought to a halt by Mr. Glick's *even*: was this supposed to be a significant *concession*?) But in fairness to Mr. Glick I should suggest that he probably relies on the English translation published, e.g. in the *Catholic Mind,* which is faulty. The Spanish original descends to equivocation and apophasis at this point. It says: "We would have nothing to say . . . about [diplomatic and commercial relations]" but it never gets around to stating the condition that attaches to the hypothetical mood of the verb. I cannot imagine a good defense for this ambiguity.

It is true that Monsignor Díaz protested the riots that attended the reading of the collective pastoral. It is also true that "within a few days President Dorticós scored the Church." What Mr. Glick omits at this point is that the government also asked in the name of religious freedom that all heckling cease, and that the people complied: a point hardly irrelevant to an evaluation of Castro's policy towards the Church.

It is true that a bomb exploded in Monsignor Boza's church. Mr. Glick omits to say that another bomb exploded in Father Lence's church after he made a speech defending the revolution. It must be understood that I do not endorse the bombing of either a bishop's or a simple priest's church. I am trying to make the point that violence was being resorted to by *both* sides. Yet, it is only fair to note that aggressiveness has been unevenly distributed among the two sides. Catholics provided the backbone of the C.I.A.'s field force of sabotage and terrorism: those who were caught were executed; their final words were often "Long live Christ the King!" (I would not presume to judge them, but I cannot believe that terrorism can be pleasing to God.) Catholics also led and manned the bulk of the invading forces of April 17 who landed, avowedly, "in the name of Christianity," complete with shoulder patches bearing the Christian cross.

It is true that Castro said that to be anti-Communist



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was to be counterrevolutionary. I think Mr. Glick should have given the full quotation: "One of the refrains that the bishops like to repeat is that government officials have said that to be anti-Communist is to be counterrevolutionary and that the government has not [denied it]. . . . Do they want us to clarify the matter? Do they want an answer? Well, then, we do believe that to be anti-Communist is to be counterrevolutionary, just as it is counterrevolutionary to be anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant, or anti-anything that tends to divide Cubans."

I will not take issue with many other errors of fact in Mr. Glick's article (for instance, there are no "parochial schools" in Cuba; the Catholic schools that were expropriated were, with but few exceptions, private—and relatively expensive—and rather exclusive schools), for I am not concerned with controversy for its own sake. I do believe, however, that the truth about Cuba may be ugly enough as it is. It is not to anyone's advantage to misunderstand it or to embroider upon it, as the North American Catholic and secular press have consistently done.

LESLIE DEWART

## The Author Replies

Pearl River, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: My conviction that many North Americans almost deliberately misunderstand Castro's motivations and mistake the neutralist elements of his foreign policy for Communism would be clear to anyone who reads my "The Cuban Cauldron" (*Midstream*, Winter, 1961) and "Castro and the Neutrals" (The Commonweal, October 21, 1960).

As for my present article, Mr. Velde and Professor Dewart have missed its point, which was to describe the change in Church-State relations not between the Batista and the Castro periods, but between New Year's Day, 1959, when Castro came to power, and 1961. That a change has taken place is obvious. The question—and the basic disagreement between us—is who is *primarily* responsible for it. Professor Dewart and Mr. Velde think it is the Church; I, a non-Catholic, think it is Castro.

The saving of Castro's life by Archbishop Perez Serantes, the quick diplomatic recognition of his regime by the Vatican, the Pope's receiving of Foreign Minister Roa, His Holiness' message to the Cuban people, the public statements in favor of the Agrarian Reform, etc., indicate to me the Church's sincere and early efforts—now rebuffed by Castro—to understand and cooperate with the Cuban Revolution. If this were not the case, why did the Cuban Government, significantly, print Church endorsements of the Revolution in its official publications? My pro-Castro quotations from *La Quincena* came not from that magazine directly but from reprints in the *Boletin* of the Public Relations Department of the Cuban Foreign Ministry! And Archbishop Diaz's endorsement of the Agrarian Reform Law, I took from the organ of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, not exactly a pro-Church, anti-Castro group.

Mr. Velde chose to extract from my article Castro's complaint: "The Church has lived with all regimes, why not with Socialism?" In the interest of balance, why did he not go a few lines farther down and also address himself to my statement that "The question is not so much why the Roman Catholic Church cannot live with Castro's brand of socialism, but why Castro cannot live with the Church?" This is very much a part of the matter. Apparently the Communist countries find it easier than Castro to live with the Church. They certainly have not gone to Castro's extreme of deporting *native-born* priests. I dare say that the Church in Poland is not experiencing the difficulties of its counterpart in Cuba.

Next, let me answer a point made by Professor Dewart. The overwhelming majority of Cubans—pro-neutral, or anti-Castro—are at least nominally Roman Catholic. Therefore to say, as he does, that Catholics formed the "backbone" of the C.I.A.'s efforts in Cuba, efforts that I wholly disapprove of, is to say something as meaningful as "Most Israelis are Jews."

Finally, Mr. Velde took umbrage at the subtitle "End of a Hope." This addition is the editors', not mine. I have not lost hope. Nor, judging from what I think is its mild and patient reaction, has the Vatican.

EDWARD B. GLICK

# THE STAGE

## *Paddy's Big Daddy*

WHAT EXACTLY are we to say about "Gideon," Paddy Chayevsky's canticle for the middle classes? It is a play of such furious determination to succeed in the arena of spiritual travail and at the same time to be charming, clever, the kind of work to which we can take our aged pious grandfather and our young iconoclastic nephew on the same night; a play, in short, of such breathtakingly suave exploitation of every possibility of theatrical blandishment and every inch-deep theological lure, that you simply look on in wonder and admiration, of the sort usually given to the most genial and talented of confidence-men. Would saying that "Gideon" is this season's "J.B." be a starting-point?

That would be a little unfair to Archibald MacLeish, who after all has never permitted winsomeness to lighten the prophetic burden; but the two plays do hang together, taking their impulse and receiving their overblown response from our hardy popular appetite for "meaningful" dramas about our spiritual condition. The



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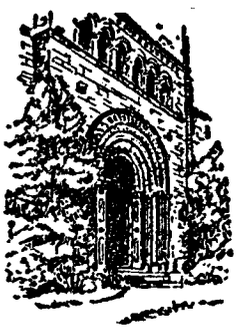

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theatre doesn't live by adultery or the sound of music alone. We all need periodically to be put in touch with the sources, with the things that count. We need to be reminded that there is a Man Upstairs and that he's available for consultation; or, in case nobody's there, we require the occasional representation of the absence.

Unlike Mr. MacLeish's, there is nothing symbolic about Mr. Chayevsky's imagination. He has brought the Man down to our floor, in flowing robes and Sistine Chapel beard; he has given him lines to speak, gestures to make, everything of a kind that will keep us comfortable; and he has put him into relationship with one of his creatures—who is our surrogate—and led the two of them through a drama that has all the appearance of being a significant statement about man and the supernatural.

"I can't love you, God, because it makes a meaningless thing of me."

"This is the law of the universe: don't make a cult of man."

Between these two thematic poles—man's pride and God's primacy—"Gideon" moves with all the easy domestic assurance of a biblicized "Marty." The Lord has raised up a hero in Israel. Gideon has put down the Midianites, but he was merely an instrument and now he wishes to be a king. The Lord plucks at him, fulminates, cajoles, works alternately on his pity, his gratitude and his fear. Gideon trembles, resists, succumbs, recovers and in the end turns away. But his back is to a God who, smiling winningly to the audience at the curtain, makes it clear that in fact "no divorce" is possible.

It is to the credit of most of the daily reviewers that, seduced as they ultimately were, they resisted more strongly during "Gideon's" second act than during its first. For as long as Chayevsky is being colloquial, mildly ironic and wistful in his best Bronx vein, we do not mind so much that God grimaces, acts petulant and whistles with relief; we have seen him do these things on our stages before and it is not an impossible convention to go along with. But, oh, the serious matters, the second act of portentousness and apocalypse, the philosophy, the metaphysics, the theology! Oh my, the wisdom pouring over us, the orotund, bright-as-a-penny wisdom!

You pay a price for withstanding the pressure. Surrounded by an audience being steadily uplifted, you come to feel like a grounded plane, or perhaps more disturbingly like the Charles Addams' character who sits grinning at the unseen stage while everyone else around him is in tears. Still, you are saved from complete neurosis by Mr. Chayevsky's generosity in sometimes being so absolutely incomprehensible that not even the most ardent advocate of adult education—of whose theatrical department Paddy is getting close to becoming chairman—can fix you with his reproachful eye. I offer this



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remark of the Lord's in evidence: "if fear is all the love you have for me . . ."

And yet I don't think that the playwright is entirely to blame for the bemused embarrassment which is the final condition that "Gideon" imposes. Had his conversation with the deity been left to conduct itself upon a comparatively bare scene, that is to say one reduced to the proper dimensions and vesture of a parable, it might have been endurable; we might have filled in its interstices with our own imaginings and converted its inadequacies into forgivably misguided suggestions.

But Chayevsky, to his esthetic ruin and financial gain, has linked up with Tyrone Guthrie, and that, as we all know, means an end to innocence. Nothing has been left to chance. From the set with its inclined floor (to suggest spiritual effort and aspiration, I suppose), tents, goatskins and rocky eminences for the Lord, to revivalist chanting, authentic weapons, a belly dancer, a snake to scare the ladies, and a cast whose hairy legs, goatish expressions and ape-like movements suggest the old comic-strip about cave-men, Alley-Oop, far more than they do the Bible—it is all excruciatingly physical, active, aggressive. Every possible space where one might have found the opportunity to think is inexorably plugged up.

A word about the acting. It is mostly good, at least Douglas Campbell, as Gideon, is good, and he is about sixty per cent of the show. The other forty per cent, however, the segment entrusted to Fredric March as the Lord, is sadly disappointing. All around me people were thrilling to the *distinguished actor's* performance, but apart from simply being unable to hear many of his words through the screen of his bird's-nest beard, I found him perfunctory, tired and unimaginative. I suppose that's understandable, however, since to play a *machina ex deus* is a lot harder than the more traditional role. (*At the Plymouth.*) RICHARD GILMAN

# THE SCREEN

## *Varieties of Americana*

FOREIGN VIEWERS of American films will get a varied picture of America from several new Hollywood productions, none of which is particularly accurate. "Summer and Smoke" is a Tennessee Williams eye view of Mississippi. On the stage, this was a minor Williams exercise with plenty of Freudian symbols, a couple of well-drawn characters, and a very thin story about a minister's daughter in love with the doctor's son next door. When she, with a great deal of talk about the inner spirit, tries to keep their love pure, he gives her the razzberry and seeks his pleasures elsewhere. Later there is a reversal of positions, by which time she, considered a frustrated old maid in town, yearns for the fleshlier love he wanted; while he, convinced of her earlier argument, has mended his ways and is now engaged to a young girl.

Expanded by Hal Wallis into a handsomely-photographed, Technicolor, two-hour production, "Summer and Smoke" now seems rather pretentious. James Poe and Meade Roberts have written a good script from the Williams original, but from time to time the padding shows. The setting is still a 1916 Mississippi town; and the writers and director Peter Glenville tried to get some action into their picture by moving away from the single stage set. The camera wanders around town and even goes into the foreign quarter where the young doctor pursues his fun and where on one occasion he takes the puritanical girl who is both drawn and repelled by the flashy entertainments, especially the cock fights. As a picture of Mississippi, however, "Summer and Smoke" is too studio-made to give any feeling of place; and in spite of Glenville's efforts to get movement into the film, most of it is talky, static and repetitive.

With the exception of Geraldine Page who is superb as Alma Winemiller, the acting is only average: Laurence Harvey as the young doctor who is inspired by Alma to desert the primrose path to become a decent pillar of society, Rita Moreno as his Latin-type flame, Una Merkel as Alma's wacky mother, Malcolm Atterbury as her strict, prudish, almost un-Christian father, and others who do well enough what they're supposed to do but are mostly only props in the story of Alma.

But her story is a touching one. It is Miss Page as Alma who gives the picture what point it has. She is luminously believable in every scene—as the girl in love with the boy next door even when she is shocked by his behavior, as the frustrated spinster tired of fighting the boy and her family, as the love-hungry woman pleading with the boy-man she converted, and, in the very touching finale, when she takes up with the shy, likable traveling salesman (Earl Holliman) and waves goodbye to a stone angel named Eternity to start a new kind of life.

MOVING UP to the present and out to San Francisco, "Flower Drum Song" presents another aspect of America: the conflict between the mores of the New World and the Old and between youth and age in Chinatown. Foreign viewers of typical American musical films (which, by the way, are not too popular abroad) probably don't expect anything more than lively dancing, pleasant music and some breezy comedy, so they won't be disappointed in this Rogers and Hammerstein item which is not among their best.

Nicely produced in color and wide screen by Ross Hunter, "Flower Drum Song" also lists among its assets two very attractive leading ladies: charming Miyoshi



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Umeki and lovely Nancy Kwan. Paired off with them are a couple of young fellows: handsome James Shigeta and boisterous Jack Soo who is sort of a Chinese-American version of a Damon Runyon character and sings to perfection one of the film's most amusing songs, "Don't Marry Me." The screenplay by Joseph Fields is fairly superficial but well-spiced with corn and gags. The picture itself, while artificial, has so much surface charm and so many pretty tunes that the whole thing is likely to win admirers.

FOR REAL corn, however, there's nothing like an American soap opera; and when a Hollywood movie like "Susan Slade" shoots the works, it shows foreign viewers not what America is like but what American taste can sink to. Produced, directed and written (from a novel by Doris Hume) by Delmer Daves, "Susan Slade" tells the story of a young girl (Connie Stevens) who has a shipboard affair with a good-looking fellow (Grant Williams) whom she never hears from again. Back in California in her parents' picture-book house, Susan picks up a couple of admirers, both good looking, one wealthy (Bert Convy), one poor but ambitious to be a writer (Troy Donahue). But when Susan discovers she is pregnant and her shipboard lover dead, she moves with her parents to Guatemala; and when her illegitimate baby is born, the child is passed off as her mother's.

You really don't have to stick with this movie to discover which boy back in California wins the little mother who finally claims the baby as her own. This ridiculous story has been decorated with some attractive Technicolor and includes in its cast as the elders: Dorothy McGuire, Lloyd Nolan, Brian Aherne, Kent Smith—all of whom, I think, might have been expected to know better.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

## BOOKS

# *Judaism and the New Testament: A Re-examination*

*The Jews and The Gospel. By Gregory Baum, O. S. A. Newman. $4.50.*

*by John L. McKenzie*

FATHER BAUM has subtitled his book "A Re-Examination of the New Testament." The subtitle is slightly ambitious; not all the books of the New Testament are treated, nor are all their theological aspects examined. But the central problem of the book is important and Fr. Baum's contribution is important. The position of Israel in the plan of salvation is so closely connected with the main questions of biblical theology that one can scarcely examine it without meeting most of the major theological themes of the New Testament. Fr. Baum does not study Israel's position in the abstract nor as a purely historical question; it is his purpose to show what biblical theology can tell the contemporary Christian about the position of Judaism and the Jews in the plan of salvation. Fr. Baum is a convert but, he tells us, his conversion was from agnosticism rather than from religious Judaism. Nevertheless, his own experiences and the experiences of his family in the Third Reich have given him an awareness of the tension of Jews and Christians which is not granted to those who have not shared that experience.

The occasion of his book is *Jesus et Israel*, by Jules Isaac. Isaac rises above vulgar prejudice in his treatment of anti-Judaism in Christianity, but he does maintain that the New Testament, in particular Matthew and John, furnishes material which was useful to anti-Judaism. Isaac attributes none of this to Jesus Himself, and indeed claims that Matthew and John have exaggerated the division between Jesus and His own people. Fr. Baum, on the other hand, examines the Gospels and the pertinent passages of Paul in order to show that they present a faithful picture of the relations of Jesus and the Jews, and that this picture is not the picture which anti-Judaism has used.

Fr. Baum makes the schism which Jesus created in Judaism the master key to the New Testament attitude towards the Jews. It is not true, he affirms, that Jesus was rejected by the Jewish people; He was rejected by Jewish religious leaders. Nor does the New Testament in turn reject the Jews. The Church is the new Israel which is the continuation and the fulfilment of the old Israel, and the members of Israel are not excluded from the people of God who make up the Church. Fr. Baum understands several passages of John in the light of the synod of Jamnia, dated by him in 80 A. D., in which Palestinian Judaism took an official position against Christianity. This division, however, is not to be placed in the life of Jesus Himself nor in the primitive apostolic Church.

The argument here rests on less firm evidence. The synod of Jamnia cannot be dated with assurance in 80 A. D., and its proceedings are known only through speculation. In other respects, Fr. Baum argues with more inner conviction than evidence. No intelligent biblical scholar now believes that the Bible gives any support to anti-Judaism; the question is not whether this is true but how it can be best presented. I am not speaking of the presentation of the truth to Jews but to Christians; as long as Christians continue to exhibit ignorant prejudice, it will be practically impossible to convince Jews there is no warrant for it in the New Testament. Fr. Baum's presentation has much merit, not the least of which is his transparent sincerity. He



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knows the New Testament well and has followed good exegetical guidance. Space does not permit the discussion of details which are open to criticism.

I am not certain that in the Gospels there is no more than a schism in Judaism. The apostolic Church in the first generation was aware that one need not become a Jew to become a Christian; and Paul appears to teach that one must abandon the basic tenet of Judaism, the sufficiency of the Law, to become a Christian. The speculative problem is a genuine mystery, as it is called; it is more than the question of the continuity of the Church with Israel or with itself, or of the continuity of modern Judaism with early Judaism. The practical problem, fortunately, does not depend on our insight into the mystery; it is simply a question of when Christians are going to begin to think and act like Christians. When Jewish apologetes ask this question, we are embarrassed for an answer.

## *A World Enclosed in Crystal*

*L'Amour Profane. By Alfred Kern. Pantheon. $3.75.*

*by Thomas F. Curley*

IN MANY ways, this short, carefully wrought novel is the most extraordinary I have come across in some time. Its content must be noticed, although the better one knows the book, the less important the content becomes.

The narrator, who is also one of the two main characters, is Jean Duperrier, a French priest who has lost his faith. Although laicized ten years before, the impossibility of making a living in the world forces him to ask the bishop to permit him to resume his priestly status in order to keep body and soul together. The bishop consents, sending Duperrier to a convent of contemplative nuns as the chaplain. Upon getting off the train, Duperrier is met by one of the nuns and, as she drives him to the convent, he finds himself fascinated by her ". . . trim, well-made ankle, under the thick woolen stocking." Not until they reach the convent and he asks to be taken to the Mother Superior does he learn that his chauffeur is the Mother Superior. Her name is Sister Marie-Anne, a stern, intelligent woman with an authoritarian temperament and a rigorous conscience. Almost immediately a mutual antagonism and attraction springs up between them, and Duperrier resolves to seduce her—and not only her body, he wants her soul and mind as well.

This summary, although factually accurate, is, if taken by itself, quite misleading. It smacks of the sensational; the book itself is the opposite. Further, to say that Duperrier has lost the faith completely misses his character, while to describe Marie-Anne as authoritarian and rigorous is only partly true, just as it is only partly true to say that Duperrier finally does, or does not, seduce her. The clue to the quality of this work,


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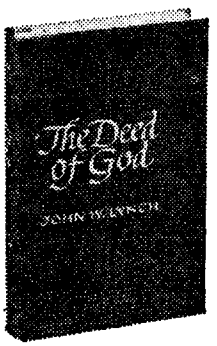


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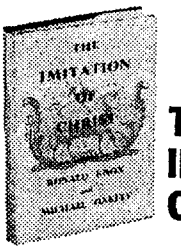


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I found in one of Duperrier's images. Before entering the religious life, Sister Marie-Anne had studied science and showed every sign of having begun a brilliant career. Duperrier, therefore, by no means insincerely, approaches her through her former interests. (He is no Don Juan; he loves the woman.) He speaks of crystals of rock that ". . . catch the sunlight and save it against the passing of time and future regret." And later, he goes on, "I told you about crystal and the way it intangibly encloses a whole world. Certain faces have the same kind of harmony."

It seems to me that Mr. Kern's book is rather like crystal itself: it too encloses a whole world, although this "world" will seem a bit strange to American readers. "Story" is a time word, and as story *L'Amour Profane* leaves much to be desired; "world" is a space word, and as an object occupying imaginative space, *L'Amour Profane* is well worth our attention.

What is this "world" like? Very early in the book, Duperrier notices, and is fascinated by, an engraving in his room. It is by Phillipe de Champaigne and shows a young nun in prayer and Mother Angelique ". . . frozen in an attitude defying eternity." This world, then, is rather like Port Royal. So far as piety goes we are back in the seventeenth century. Duperrier likes to refer with sarcasm to the "physiology of grace." This is the world Marie-Anne lives in and which Duperrier wishes to destroy, for she, more than anyone else there is responsible for it. Duperrier opposes no other human world to hers; rather, following his own tastes he appeals to her through the beauty and lovely "otherness" of nature, particularly of the nearby mountains where he often walks to escape the convent.

It is within this world that the two main characters, Duperrier and Sister Marie-Anne, meet and move in a stately *pas de deux*. They are not "real, live, characters," but they do have a vitality, an intransitive, reflexive vitality, moving always upon itself. They remind me of those figures on the Grecian urn which excited Keats' wonder: "She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,/ For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair!"

There are critics, I realize, who cannot "believe in" a character even when that character is presented to them. That is too bad. Duperrier and Marie-Anne are, perhaps, not "believable," but they are very much there: they appear; they speak; they suffer. They do not move us to anything; but they arrest our thoughts and excite our wonder. The tense complexity of Mr. Vincent Cronin's translation seems to me altogether appropriate. Every so often I had to remind myself that I was not reading French—quite an accomplishment considering that the English is so clear.

## *Lady Gregory*

*Lady Gregory: A Literary Portrait. By Elizabeth Coxhead. Harcourt Brace and World. $5.95.*

*by Anne Fremantle*

BERNARD SHAW called her "the greatest living Irishwoman"; for W. B. Yeats she was Egeria and nurse (and sometimes governess, too); Synge said her "Cucuchlain" was his "daily bread"—she got him a theater and an audience and fought for his "Playboy," which she hated with all her social-worker's heart. She gave Ireland the Abbey Theater. She was, as only a woman could have been, the warm heart of the whole Irish Renascence, feeding, cosseting, paying for, in time and tears and trouble and the little money she had, everyone who had something to contribute.

Now, her biographer says, "she is almost forgotten already." Since there was no book about her Miss Coxhead had to do it herself. And how good it is that she did. For Lady Gregory really was the queen-pin of all the characters, from Roger Casement to Maud Gonne, who bejewelled Ireland in the years when literature was pouring from her, a cloud by day and a fire by night.

It was a wonderful life she had, this twelfth child and youngest girl growing up in one eighteenth century house, Roxborough, and later



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marrying into another, Coole. She grew up on a six thousand-acre estate, where she learned all the facts, and all the heartbreaks, of life. At twenty-eight, nursing a dying brother abroad, she met and married a widower of sixty-three, the retired governor of Ceylon, Sir William Gregory. It was an ideally happy marriage; from her husband she learned about literature, and with him she had a son, Robert, who was later the person she cared most about in the world.

Lady Gregory wrote twenty-seven original plays. Miss Coxhead discusses them all and disposes, one hopes forever, of Oliver Gogarty's monstrous charge that Yeats really wrote them, or, at any rate, was responsible for what was good in them. On the contrary, as she proves, Yeats' "sacerdotal and didactic element" was essentially anti-dramatic, so that she agrees with Sean O'Casey's remark: "Why didn't Yeats mind his own business! A pity the woman was so near to Yeats . . . he had a bad effect on her confidence in her own creation." Indeed, going further, Miss Coxhead shows how much Yeats owed to Lady Gregory.

It is also most valuable to be given the whole story of the Lane pictures —Hugh Lane was Lady Gregory's beloved nephew—and the full saga of the relations between the Castle and the Abbey. But since this is a literary portrait, there is, alas, too little of Lady Gregory at Coole, of the wonderful barmbrack and the thistle-spudding, of the haunted barrows and the dun-colored lake; of the peaches one could pick in the hothouse and the Wicked Wood where everyone got lost. But there is enough to show "Aunt Augusta" in many of her aspects, this indomitable widow whose "eyes were always full of questions."

REVIEWERS

Father John L. McKenzie, S.J., of Loyola University, Chicago, is the author of *The Double-Edged Sword.*

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